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122 Dr. Kardiner at this point contributed funds to the Social Science Research Council of Columbia which that Council supplemented to permit me to undertake field work. Meanwhile, he continued the seminar with Dr. Linton for the two years that I was away, and from these four years' experience Dr. Kardiner wrote *The Individual and His Society*. In the meantime, others in the field of depth psychology and anthropology were working eagerly on the *rapprochement* between these two fields, to the mutual benefit of both disciplines. Historians, sociologists, and political scientists contributed also to the breadth and depth of inquiries in this area. Increasingly pertinent questions were asked and increasingly satisfactory solutions suggested. Differences of viewpoint arose, as they will in any new, vigorous, and still inchoate discipline; but these differences served only to sharpen the sophistication of those who were convinced of the far-reaching practical as well as theoretical importance, for the modern world, of understanding what gives groups of people common character structures.

121 In looking for an area in which to pursue such studies, I searched for one in which gross pathologies were reported to be present, since it seemed to me at the time that by the very grossness of its manifestations pathology could be more clearly understood than normality. Siberia, with its Arctic hysteria, and the East Indies, with lata and amok, suggested themselves. Linguistically, climatically, and politically the Indies seemed more practical than Siberia. Consultation with Dr. Kennedy at Yale and Dr. Josselin de Jong at the University of Leyden led me to select the island of Alor for field work. Actually, Alor provided neither of the Indonesian pathologies which I had anticipated, but the culture was immediately so interesting and challenging, so little affected by European contacts, that my preconceptions were fortunately swept aside.

122 When the choice of field fell upon the Netherlands Indies, I began studying Dutch and then, via Dutch, Malay, which is the *lingua franca* of the area. Neither language went very fast until I reached Alor in 1938. There I was forced to use what passed for Dutch with the seven or eight Netherlands officials on the island. Ali, the Javanese boy I had brought from Batavia, understood only Malay. For better or for worse both languages had to be used and in them I developed fluency if not elegance.

123 Ali stayed for only six months before returning to his family in Java. Like myself he was a foreign influence in the village, which, for my purposes, was best left as little disturbed as possible. He was, more-

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over, a gentleman of wealth and prestige to the Alorese, and he was a 123
Moslem. It was evident that the villagers had an eye for litigation where their women were concerned, and that was a source of trouble it seemed wise to avoid. To Ali I entrusted all the care of establishing a 122
household in an island unfamiliar and remote to us both. This duty he discharged with such skill, tact, and devotion that I have never lived so carefree a domestic existence in areas replete with what pass for civilized conveniences. To Ali was entrusted also the training of five Alorese boys, one from each of the five villages in the valley where I worked. Five boys may seem an excessive staff, but in this way no one of [115]
them had too much unaccustomed work, and each was free to play a normal part in village affairs, and I had the inestimable advantage of an informant and host in each community. Also, as I learned later, the impartial distribution of cash wages stood me in good stead.

The choice of the village in which I was to work involved long ses- 121
sions with the radjah of Alor and several horseback trips into the in- 123
terior. When I chose Atimelang, the radjah was obviously reluctant. He feared and distrusted these savage mountaineers who had been embroiled in the murder of his uncle, the former radjah, some twenty years before. His "kapitan," however, was willing to vouch for my safety, and two hours after the decision was reached, I had purchased the corn crop growing on the land where my house was to be built overlooking the dance place. The floor plan of the kind of house I had designed in terms of local building ability was staked out—a verandah, a living room, two bedrooms, and a store room. To one side was to be the kitchen and bath house. From the hill rising sharply back of the village, water was to be brought in a bamboo "aqueduct" from a spring which was reported to flow all year. I was assured that in two weeks the miracle would be wrought. When the Dutch controleur returned at the end of two weeks with me and the twenty-eight carriers, the house was not completed; it had barely been started. The controleur had to go back but I stayed on in the government rest shack to see the job through. The next two weeks of cajolery improved my Malay and gave me a start at the local language.

This language had not been studied before and, of course, had no 126
written form. It seemed useful to give it some name, so I called it Abui, [10]
which is the word the local people used to designate themselves as opposed to the coastal people. From the beginning vocabularies and texts were taken down phonetically, and by the time that autobiographical material was recorded a year later, I was able to translate directly

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126 into English as the informants gave their life histories, although I never felt sufficiently secure in the language to dispense with the translation into Malay which Fanzan, the interpreter, furnished. Myths and other tales were recorded in Abui and given interlinear translations in English which I later checked with Fanzan in Malay. Certainly the linguistic handicaps were great and only incessant care reduced the possibilities of gross errors.

123 With the completion of the house, the village assisted me in discharging the obligations of a house-building feast. The slaughter of two pigs and a goat clearly indicated that this was a house deserving a lineage name. At the all-night dance preceding the feast, the chief, after considerable deliberation with me, decided Hamerika was suitable. Here a peculiar linguistic feature entered. When I was asked the name of my lineage, I said that I came from America. In Abui this name means "your" Merica and became a gracious gesture of hospitality to the chief. He then called the house "her" Merica (Hamerica). My nation and their lineage concepts were all satisfactorily blended, unfortunately through sheer misunderstanding.

A daily "clinic" served further to acquaint me with the people and, more importantly, to acquaint the people with me. My first patient was Rilpola the Seer. By good luck two old ulcers healed rapidly under daily treatment and thereafter we exchanged the courtesies of two medical specialties. He sent me people with wounds, infections, fevers, and intestinal ailments. I sent him people who needed charms or cures for supernatural ills. Daily I bathed infections, dispensed quinine or castor oil or aspirin, and gradually even the women and children were sufficiently used to my touch to forgive me the size of my body, the
[116] whiteness of my skin, and the blue eyes, which looked so frighteningly blind to them. That my nose was long and sharp was, however, to the very end of my stay, a never-ending source of merriment. That I took no offense at their amusement they discovered only later and to the considerable relief of the older persons concerned with the proprieties.

Gradually life assumed a familiar and intimate character, as it will in any village the world over. The Dutch on the coast rarely entered my mind, except twice a month when one of the boys went to meet the mail boat and make small purchases at the Chinese store. The people of Atimelang no longer found me their chief source of entertainment, and, although I could never wander about unnoticed, at least I was ignored when engrossing matters were afoot. My awkwardness in handling a betel quid was always a chance for diversion. The clumsi-

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The derision of my dance steps was politely ignored and when my hair grew too long, some friendly neighbor would tell me that it was the custom in their village for respectable women to keep their hair short. 123 [302]

It is therefore to those friends in Alor, to their shrewd but tolerant acceptance of my peculiarities and to their vigorous engrossment in their own affairs that any contributions which this volume may make to an understanding of the varieties of human character are primarily due.

To the kindness and interest of many other persons I am also indebted, since no ethnographer undertakes field work without making many new friendships and incurring innumerable obligations to both new friends and old ones. The work reported in this volume is no exception. My greatest obligations for both intellectual stimulus over a number of years and financial assistance on this field trip are gratefully acknowledged to Dr. A. Kardiner. To Dr. Ruth Benedict, who made possible the professional backing and financial support of the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University, I am again indebted as I have been so frequently in the course of professional work. Dr. Ralph Linton was kind enough to place at my disposal his joint seminar with Dr. Kardiner during the winter of 1939–40. The spirited discussion of field data by this group is a debt difficult to acknowledge adequately.

At the University of Leyden, Professor Josselin de Jong was a consistently kind and helpful adviser, a role he continued to play by mail throughout my sojourn in the Indies. It is difficult to thank sufficiently the many officials of the colonial government in the Netherlands East Indies, without whose intelligent and forbearing assistance there might have been insurmountable difficulties. This debt is particularly great to Assistant-Resident Koster of Timor and to Dr. and Mrs. Bruynis of Alor. Their hospitality, unfailing helpfulness, and consistent solicitude made my residence during the first year on Alor a singularly happy one. The missionary, Mr. Fuenekes, was distinguished for his tolerance toward an ethnographer, whose presence in any primitive community is apt to fortify interest in customs that missionaries try to combat.

Dr. Margaret Mead, Dr. Gregory Bateson, and Dr. Bruno Klopfer provided encouragement and guidance. Dr. Porteus gave unstintingly 125 of his time and interest in evaluating the maze test which bears his name.

To Dr. Emil Oberholzer no adequate acknowledgment can be made

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red corn, red rice, snake tubers, red tubers, green bananas, or foreign bananas.'" So I collected the people together and gave them this law. After that people went to the government and complained against me. 159x [262]

ANALYSIS BY ABRAM KARDINER

This man was about forty-five at the time his autobiography was taken. His life history is in every way typical. His childhood and adolescence were quite normal, and his parents seem to have been true to the cultural form in their treatment of him. He is not a very successful man, and his standing as a seer is questionable. Rilpada holds him in great contempt. His story itself is faulty in that many details needed to establish the continuity of his life are lacking.

Of particular interest in this man are his reactions to having his autobiography taken down. The ethnographer had evidently established a justified reputation for being quite a healer and a powerful person.-Malelaka's attitude toward the interviews is unusual. He is eager for them and often comes early for his appointment. Before long he has a very decisive attitude toward the ethnographer. He feels that he can get something out of this situation, and his dreams reveal time and again his disappointment at what is happening. His sole motive is to play on the ethnographer's sympathies in one way or another in order to get her to give him something. Judging from his dreams, we would say that what he really wants is food without paying for it. From time to time he becomes exceedingly impatient with the situation when his wishes do not materialize. Furthermore, he wants to impress the ethnographer, and perhaps in some ways he regards her as a competitor, but indeed one for whom he has great respect. 159x 115 [263]

The greatest emphasis in Malelaka's story falls on his vocational activities, in connection with which he has some very interesting and revealing dreams. The story is short on the affective side, just like those of other Alorese, and is extremely poor in the description of his human relationships. Like other Alorese too, he tends to emphasize the infantile, and his current life is hardly touched upon. This may be the result of the way the situation was described to him in the initial interviews. Here the influence of the interpreter may be important. Very little mention is made of his wife and children. 159x

For the light that his autobiography casts upon this society, perhaps the most striking features are the story of his relations with women, the persistent manner in which wealth-status is associated with mating,

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159 cultural sentiment, and yet that all these things were full of emotional content for him.] So now too it is the hungry season. If people who have lots of food remember us and give us food, good food, we remember them when food is plentiful and pay them back. [Long pause. Was this last speech a bid for a food gift from me as an expression of love? I definitely played a maternal role for the informant.] 123

When I was maybe six years old, a man from Kelaini was our guest. He gave us a coconut. I was out in the fields with my father when he was cutting weeds. I took a knife to open the coconut and eat it. My father told me not to do that but to plant it. I wanted to cut weeds, but my father didn't want me to. I cried, but he would not come up to fondle me. So I took the coconut and threw it down the hillside at him. It hit his side. He took a stick and chased me. I ran, but he caught up with me and beat me from my head to my thighs. 145

When I was ten or twelve years old, Kolaka [an older sister] called me to come and mind her baby. We went together to Lakmelang. I took care of the baby for five days; then Kolaka wanted to go to Atimelang. I was afraid to be left alone and I cried, so she came back and we went up into the house together. Then after a while Kolaka went out. While I wasn't looking she went off to Atimelang. She left me there. I left the child in the house and started out to follow her. I got down as far as the Limbur ravine, and there I met a big man from Rushmelang. He pulled out his sword and said he was going to kill me. I was afraid and ran away. When I got back to Kolaka's house the baby was still sleeping. That evening Kolaka came back. The next morning I went back to the river and saw a large eel trap. There was a dead rat in it. I took it away and saw a great big eel in the trap. Then I carried the eel back to the village still alive. When I got there Padata's father said, "A child has brought back an eel, so my women had better cook rice." His women cooked rice and we all ate together. [This he told with much pride.] The next day I went again to the trap. There was nothing in it but there was a bird near it. I caught it and went back to the village to play with it. An old man took it from me to eat. [Question.] I wasn't angry, because his wife was my mother's cousin.

After a while I came back to Atimelang with Kolaka and my father. 121 One morning I got up at sunrise and looked at the sun. I saw two, one 187 on the eastern horizon and one overhead. I went in and told my mother and father, and they told me not to speak about it. It was a sign of good luck. [If one told good omens, they would not materialize.]

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philandering, but he tells the story in such a way as to show how attractive he is to women and how they make advances to him. The final story of the trial, however, proves that in this case his wife's specific accusation of infidelity is false. It would seem that Fantan had a narrow escape here. 159×

In the divorce proceedings Fantan is greatly intimidated by the fact that if a final financial reckoning were made—a procedure that is necessary for divorce—he would be in debt and would thus find it impossible to marry again. So he decides to stick to his wife. In other words, Fantan is beaten into submission by the fact that his parents-in-law are so sharp in reckoning that he comes out a debtor instead of a creditor. However, he stays with his wife, and that is really the purpose of such financial settlements.

The vindictiveness of the wife is likewise very clearly shown in this story. So violent are her feelings that she actually places a leprosy curse upon Fantan. This threat would sound very serious to anyone but Fantan, and although he has not the slightest actual fear of it, he professes to be afraid of the curse and insists upon its removal before he is reconciled to his wife. What is important about Fantan's relations to his wife and in-laws is that his difficulties do not in any way interfere with his sexual appetites or interests. The foundation for a healthy sexuality has already been laid, and it is not disturbed by his external difficulties, as was the case with the other three men.

We have in Fantan, therefore, a man whose childhood was noteworthy for good care. The parental imagos stand out very sharply, and Fantan's attitude toward both of them is good. He is encouraged into many activities and receives the unusual advantage of an education, but he does not follow through. He has to brag. He has to try to cover his inadequacies with falsifications. He must lie and give himself the benefit of every doubt. Despite these traits, however, he develops into a sexually mature person, and he therefore finds the financial complications of marriage extremely irksome.

Perhaps the key to his character can also be seen in his reactions to the ethnographer. In his first dream (November 14) he imputes sexual curiosity about the ethnographer to another man, whom he beats off. However, the incident of peeping at the ethnographer's toilet activities is the replica of an experience he narrates between himself and his sister. The ethnographer therefore stands for a sexual object about which he has much curiosity, but he recognizes that this impulse must be suppressed. If we consider the ethnographer as a sister, then the narrative 159× 123 ●

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159 of Fantan's life indicates that his relationship with the ethnographer
123 was not a good one: that he was constantly being punished by her, had his sexual interests in her rebuffed, and finally was cheated by her.

But this analogy with the sister must be translated. First, Fantan does have a sexual interest in the ethnographer. Second, the imputation that the ethnographer is cheating him is merely another way of stating his claims upon her, of saying that he would like to get more from her than she is giving. Whether or not Fantan was being well paid for his work is beside the point. The ethnographer stands to Fantan as a powerful person with endless resources, which he therefore expects her to share with him. Actually Fantan tries to induce her to make various purchases for him, and on one occasion (November 14) he offers a ridiculously low price for an object that he has tried to inveigle her into buying for him. This is another way of proclaiming his poverty and her wealth. In this attitude toward the ethnographer Fantan differs from none of the other male subjects. He does differ in another respect, however: Fantan is the only male subject who had a sexual attitude toward her.

159 His other dreams are not very transparent. The dream of a stone ball that falls from heaven and misses him (November 16) and the subsequent dream about catching birds, crayfish, and eels (Fantan getting small eels and someone else a big one) seem likewise to refer to the relationship to the ethnographer. Dreams of large, round objects falling are common breast symbols. This interpretation is corroborated by the next dream, which is about hunting for food. The transition between the two dreams, however, contains an important idea: "I would like to have the ethnographer give me things, but I really don't need her. I can do things for myself." But there is a catch to his self-confidence—someone else gets a bigger eel than he does. (The ethnographer was not successful in eliciting material to point up his interest in eels and crayfish or to show why these particular objects should be chosen in connection with hunting.) The actual associations with this dream about being robbed—his brother-in-law's catching the thieves and making them pay compensation—only confirm the previous impression. The ethnographer is by implication a thief; that is, if she does not give him all he wants she is thereby taking things from him, and because of this attitude he is sullen and promises to avenge himself upon her.

To judge from his associations, another dream about pulling an eel out of a water pipe (November 17) may suggest some resentment at his wife's pregnancy. However, one cannot be sure about this. At the

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159 the scheme. They are found in the outer section of the righthand triangle on successive C Σ levels of 7.5, 6.5, and 4.5. (2) "Stephanus and Nitaniel do not automatically shy away from contacts and seclude themselves from everyone." In fact, not only are these two Alorese located in the righthand triangle of the chart, but Nitaniel is next to Stephanus, and both exhibit in their Rorschachs an unmistakable tendency toward FC interpretations. (3) "Likma and Mangma the Chief." Contrary to the Alorese listed in 1 and 2 above they are both on the lefthand side, not far from the diagonal running from the left top corner of the chart, Mangma somewhat above the diagonal and Likma, who shows the double quantity of bl-wh Σ and C Σ, somewhat underneath. (4) "Djetmani and Padakafeli, Fantan the Chief and Atafani." They are the people among these Alorese of whom the ethnographer knows least, which is significant. They are the males with whom [123] she could establish least contact, because of the distrust and lack of response manifested in the test by the black color-shock and the unsurmountable barrier of their black-white reactions. They fall into two pairs as is stated by the ethnographer: Djetmani and Padakafeli, with a remarkable bl-wh Σ but only a small C Σ, are found close to each other in the left half of the lower triangle; Fantan the Chief and Atafani, as dilated types, not far from the middle line in the right half of that triangle, Atafani way farther down in keeping with his experience mode of 9.5 : 11.5, which is double that of Fantan the Chief. They are all marked plus variants (see above), Fantan the Chief, however, least so, and they must be among the seventeen Alorese most strange to a foreigner. (5) "Fantan the Interpreter and Rilpada the Seer, who, nevertheless, are very different." Both have M in contrast to all the fifteen listed in the scheme and show the same number of kinesthesias, but Fantan's mode of experience is without, while Rilpada's is combined with, black-white interpretations. They are both found in the righthand triangle but, for that reason, relatively far apart from each other.

157 Black-white reactions and black color-shock are correlated: The black color-shock, in general, manifests itself more, the more the black-white Σ prevails over the C Σ. Its manifestations are, therefore, in Rorschach's scheme, on the decrease from left to right. Furthermore, it is, on the whole, the more pronounced the greater the intensity of the black-white reactions, i.e., the greater the bl-wh Σ; and, therefore, in the scheme it is on the increase from top to bottom. In the more dilated types, i.e., farther down in the middle column and immediately to right and left of it, the shock almost coincides with the apathy and